243 wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they are
492 rarely used. Burros usually have to be rented
or borrowed; in the latter case, a gift of maize
[427] or money equal to the rent is usually made.
Fifty centavos a day is the usual pay for burros,
which adds considerably to the expense of
bringing in the harvest from distant fields.
Often pay is in maize and is subject to some
bargaining.

243 The time of the harvest varies in different
632 places. If the "plain" west of town is planted,
the main harvest is in November, but if the
"plain" southeast of town is planted, the har-
vest is in December. In either case, the town
council, in consultation with the principal land-
owners, sets the dates for harvests. Where
lands adjoin those of neighboring towns, usu-
ally both towns begin the same day. Eight
days after the date set, anyone may turn
animals into the fields. Persons who have not
completed harvesting or carrying in their har-
vest may have difficulty protecting it from
animals.

243 As the harvest is a time of joint work, even
527 though not communal in character, it also is a
692 rather festive and social occasion. Moreover,
273 many workmen have more money than at any
other time. To protect them from tempta-
tions, keep them sober while working, and avoid
distractions, the sale of fruit or liquor is pro-
hibited outside the edge of town. Actually,
the "edge of town" becomes somewhat elastic,
and vendors may set up stands as much as half
a kilometer from town.

243 In 1940 the following schedule of harvests
was posted:

December 5. Huanaschucun (sloping lands at the foot of the Cerro de la Virgen, northwest of town).
December 9. Eastern part of the "plain" of Sharicho and Rincon de Paso.
December 16. Western part of Sharicho.
December 19. Plain of Arantepacua.

No rules were posted for smaller isolated areas and fields which were fenced. The parts of Sharicho and other areas close to the Nahuatzen boundary were harvested beginning November 26 in order to prevent conflicts over animals crossing the boundary.

251 White maize and yellow maize are stored un-
243 shelled in the lofts of "*trojes*." Little effort is
taken to protect maize from rats and squirrels

244 usually near the house, where they spread over kitchen roofs, sheds, and fences. Planting is in the week of Candelaria. No fruit is borne until the second year.

The tubers formed on the roots of the chayote plant, called chinchayote, are dug up every third year on New Year's day or shortly after. They are found about a yard and a half from the stalk at a depth of 2 feet. They are boiled [252] or fried and eaten. In flavor and texture they are superior to potatoes, which they resemble. If the tubers are not removed every 3 years, they rot and the plant sickens and does not bear.[9]

Miscellaneous vegetables and herbs.—Green vegetables and herbs are usually grown in small garden plots within the patio or houseyard. Most important is cabbage, of which two varieties are grown, one which heads and one which does not. The latter is the more common, producing a cluster of large leaves along a stalk a foot or more in height. Cabbage is an essential ingredient of the universal meat dish, čurípo.

On rare occasions, other vegetables are grown, such as carrots, tomatoes, and onions. The latter two do not produce well in Cherán, [262] and carrots and other vegetables have little place in Tarascan cookery.

[263] Almost every garden has a few herbs, the most common of which is *silantro* (kulántro), used to flavor meat dishes. Two mints (kuaʒitiniš and kuaʒitiniš kamáta akúa) are grown for use in atoles.

[278] Camomiles, *manzanillo*, of at least two types are grown as carminatives.

Agave.—Although agaves (akámba) are 249 planted extensively along the ditches cut as field boundaries to keep out animals, relatively little use is made of them. There is some [272] collection of the juice, *agua miel* (urápi). Some is consumed locally, but most of it is shipped to Uruapan. No native residents drink [273] the juice after fermentation as *pulque*. Only wild agaves are roasted.

To secure the juice, according to description, a cavity is cut in the heart with a knife and the

[9] In Paricutin village, chayotes (apúpo) are planted in stone-lined pits to protect the seeds from gophers. The pit is about 30 cm. deep. The pulp is carefully removed from the seeds, which are then carefully wrapped in maize husks and tied with the same material.

[769] guests. A few are made for sale on the 1st
262 and 2d of November.
252 *Tamalito.*—This is made by mixing dough with lard and salt, forming a small ball, which is wrapped in maize leaves and cooked in boiling water. It is usually eaten the following morning for breakfast, commonly with *atole blanco.*

Čarikurúnda.—This tamale is made of black maize, boiled with wood ashes, washed, and milled. The dough is allowed to stand one night, becoming somewhat bitter. Beans are cooked and ground on the metate. A layer of bean paste is laid over a layer of maize dough, covering the metate. This is cut in squares, about three fingers wide, which are then rolled up, wrapped in maize leaves, and cooked in boiling water. The čarikurúnda is about the size of the kurúnda. It is made about March, at the period in which the sowing of maize begins. The colored maize is usually set apart out of each harvest for this purpose. A little white maize is often added "to improve the taste."

Atoles (*kamáta*) of various kinds are made.
272 The maize dough, prepared as for tortillas, is dissolved in water and cooked with various flavorings. The broth is sometimes fairly thick but ordinarily is drunk from a glass, bowl, or cup. There are also atoles made of other grains. Many are made at special seasons of the year or for special occasions. Atoles are usually eaten for the morning meal.

252 *Nuríte kamáta.*—This is the most common
262 form of atole. It is made as is described above
263 but is flavored with an herb called nuríte. It is usually eaten for breakfast not less than once a week. Nuríte is a wild herb greatly used for flavoring and also for medicinal purposes. It imparts a slightly bitter flavor to atole, somewhat like *yerba buena.* No sugar, salt, or other flavoring is employed. This atole is commonly eaten with tortillas and a little cheese, or squash, or *gordos* of either dry or green maize.

Kamáta urápiti.—This is said to mean "white
252 atole." It is made of dough from either white
272 or yellow maize cooked in water with a little
273 thickening substance (not identified) and either without any seasoning whatever or with laurel (nurúkata). A small bite is taken from a cake of brown sugar, followed by a draft of atole, and then a drink of *aguardiente.* The atole

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252 is drunk throughout the day, even by children
272 (including the *aguardiente*). It is made in
[273] March, April, and May.

Kágwas kamáta.—Fresh or dried nuríte is ground on the metate with three or four chiles of the type known as *cascabel* (káwas guajílyo). This is mixed with maize dough before it is dissolved in water and cooked. A little brown sugar and salt are added during the cooking. This atole is eaten in September with green corn on the cob. It is also eaten in December and January for either breakfast or supper; if the day is very cold, it may be taken during the day, for it is very "heating." For this reason it is also given to mothers for several days after parturition.

Turípiti kamáta.—This is made with maize dough and brown sugar. A quantity of corn husks is toasted until almost black; this is ground and added to the atole while cooking. The resulting atole is almost black and appears to have ashes in it. The taste is agreeable, however. Turípiti is usually eaten with náka-tamales, but it is also eaten at any other time of the year, being one of the more popular atoles in Cherán. It is also sold daily at the *puestos* in Uruapan, where it is known as *atole de cascara de cacao*, "atole of chocolate bean husks," although it has not the slightest chocolate in it.

Kamáta urápiri.—This is said to mean atole of maguey (or agave). The unfermented juice of the maguey is used instead of water. The juice is cooked until foam ceases to form on top and it is a little thick. Instead of maize dough, white maize is toasted and ground into flour, then added to the juice. It is made in the period before the rainy season, April, May June.

Srímba kamáta or téri kamáta (*šrimba*, "*cane*," *or teri*, "*sweet*").—The sweet juice of mature green cornstalks is extracted by grinding the stalks on the metate. The juice is boiled until it no longer forms foam on top, and is a little thick. Green corn is cut from the cob, milled, and added to the liquid and cooked with water added. This atole is eaten only in the period green corn is available.

Iusitini kamáta.—This is a variant of nuríte kamáta, to which salt and three or four red

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BEVERAGES

272 Milk is drunk to a limited extent in season by those few who have cattle. If purchased, it is used mostly for cooking.[18]

Te de naranja is sometimes drunk. It is made by steeping the leaves of a particular member of the citrus family, either fresh or dried. The leaves must be imported in Cherán. In some other villages this is a regular breakfast drink, but in Cherán it is only an occasional drink.

Coffee is rarely drunk by the Tarascans. Most stores in Cherán do not carry it at all.

Aqua miel (urapi, urápiti, "white"), the unfermented juice of the maguey or *Agave americana*, is liked by some but is not very popular. It is usually available in quantities only in May. It is often drunk with sections of peeled orange, pieces of chile, and sliced onions sprinkled with ground red chile and salt. Fermented *pulque* is not at all popular, and what little is produced is mostly sent to Uruapan.

[273]

Aguardiente (čaránda) is the most common drink. This is simply unflavored sugarcane gin.

Amargo, a popular Cherán drink, is made by putting ground cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind in a bottle of *aguardiente* for 2 or 3 days. It is taken before breakfast as a remedy in certain diseases (*reumas, bilis, espantos*).

[757]

263 Honey is produced to some extent. It is used mostly in making *atole blanco* or white atole and also as a treat for the children.

SOME FIESTA FOODS

262 Čápata is made by grinding black amaranth into dough and mixing with brown sugar. The blackish paste is spread on banana leaves. It is sold without cooking.

[556] Mole of squash seeds is a luxury dish made only by the most wealthy and by the *cărguero* of Natividad (Christmas). The sauce is made of ground squash seeds, *chile ancho*, tomatoes, spices, and bread for thickening. Beef or pork is the meat served in the sauce.

[273] Beer is sold in some stores, but it is not a common drink.

[234] [18] In Chilchota no cheese or butter is made. Local milk is drunk or made into *jojóke*, milk thickened by heating. Cheese, butter, and other milk products are imported.

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and
252 toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"* (guanšto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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184 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like
261 maize for *näxtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos*.

A special "bread" of maize is used as an offer-
782 ing at the house altar. This is made of maize
532 toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted.
262 Most people eat atole flavored with nurite, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," "*se come a secas*."

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo*. The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos*. Pulque,
● [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

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342 and are served. While all this is going on, a few women start dancing.
574 Before the last arrivals finish eating, most of the women leave with the musicians to bring the *cuelgas* and to bring the relatives of the wife who had been preparing them. The *cuelgas* are women's narrow belts to which are tied pieces of bread in the shape of animals, mostly bulls, thin tortillas made of wheat, and paper flowers. There are also some figures of animals, such as birds and mules, made of painted corn husks and filled with *pinole* (parched corn flour). The house owner is decked with several of the *cuelgas*. Single *cuelgas* are also put on some 20 men present, including the master carpenter and various uncles and cousins of the house owner. (At the Chávez festival the mayor and his alternate arrived about this time.) They are not fed but are offered drinks. Everyone now starts to dance. Dancing and drinking continue until late at night.

● [273] The host, on the occasion observed, drank very little. The following day his relatives returned with bottles, saying now he had really to drink with them. He did, for about 3 days.

FIESTAS IN OTHER TOWNS

796 A few data collected on fiestas from other towns may be of interest here. None of the data are complete in any respect, but some similarities and differences are apparent. Properly, many of the fiestas described are part of Cherán culture, for many people from Cherán attend them either as visitors or as participants. The band, of course, goes to many fiestas. Other people go to sell goods, barbers often go to pick up some business, and so on.

Like most Tarascans, the people of Cherán pay special reverence to the miraculous Christ of San Juan Parangaricutiro, perhaps better known as San Juan de las Colchas, a former Tarascan town but now primarily a Mestizo village some 15 miles west of Uruapan. Many Cherán residents take vows to make pilgrimages to the saint on September 14 for various reasons, for example, if they are going on a long journey. The father of Agustín made such a vow when he went to the United States. When he returned safely 27 years later, he kept his

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all [437] assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in [273] accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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585 of the groom. To the mother and the godmothers of the groom are given 5 or 10 centavos each. The form of presentation is always the same; the money is placed in a china plate covered with a cloth. The recipient tips the plate so the money slides into her hand without the amount being visible to anyone else. The recipient shakes the hand of the donor and in the case of the mother, who is standing, curtseys. Sometimes money is given to the males in lieu of cigarettes. If the family is large, the godmothers and the mother may receive from 8 to 15 pesos. Shortly after the arrival of the bride's party, the parents and uncles of the bride and groom, and sometimes other relatives, all enter the kitchen. There the marriage manager performs a ceremony (described on p. 103) by which all become *compadres*.]

The father of the groom now orders the distribution to all the relatives of the bride [and in observed weddings, to everyone present] of one piece of bread each. The bread was prepared in advance and is an obligation of the father. This is called the ɾaɾáki t'iréŋ́kua. Ordinarily these pieces are in the form of a crown which we call kanákua. [The *compadres* or brothers of the groom's father help him with the distribution, handing him a piece of bread which the father himself usually hands to each guest on a lacquered tray (pl. 7, upper right). The order of events in the account here does not coincide with any wedding witnessed. The distribution of bread usually came after the exchange of clothing and bread described below. Only if there were to be little or no clothing exchange or dancing would the distribution of bread be this early in the proceedings. The time of distribution is regarded as indicating the probable length of the wedding; the later it is distributed, the longer the wedding will last. In the case of the latest distribution observed, the wedding lasted 3 days. Similarly, the beginning of the drinking usually did not take place until the clothing and bread exchange was well under way.]

[273] When this act [the distribution of the bread] was finished, they begin to bring out the bottles of *charanda* and all begin to drink until they are quite drunk. It should be noted that only the relatives of the groom have the right to buy and carry liquor, the relatives of the bride drinking what is offered them [which is abundant. The person who produces a bottle drinks from it first.] While they are drinking, at the same time they are making the exchange of the clothing and bread in the following form.

All of the women relatives of the bride such as the maternal and paternal aunts give clothing to the uncles and aunts and other relatives (of the groom) as well as the parents, who are those who receive the best clothing. These in their turn in recompense return bread in a quantity not more than $1.50 and not less than $1.00, while the musicians are playing regional tunes and *jarabes* and others are dancing. [For a somewhat different sequence of events with some additional details, see the account of the Sánchez wedding below.] In a word, there is a very great movement.

585 kilos of rice, and a basket of corn or beans. The male relatives of the bride supply one or two loads of wood and also present to the groom agricutural tools if he is a farmer or utensils of his trade if he has some other occupation. The male and female relatives of the groom also dress the bride in a complete new outfit and present her with clothing and household and kitchen equipment. Gifts received by the bride and groom are divided with their respective relatives. The sisters of the groom carry rosaries made of *amole* tubers to indicate that they should wash with this and not with soap. (This statement is ambiguous and needs further investigation; possibly it refers to bathing the bride.)

The church wedding takes place in the early hours of the morning and is followed by a breakfast in the house where the celebration is to be held. Invariably the breakfast consists of bread and chocolate. After breakfast there is a dance, which continues through the day except for intervals in which to eat. The food is *mole* of chicken or turkey, fried rice, beans, and tortillas. After the meal a drink made of pulque and called *charape* is served. If it is not the season for pulque, the *charape* is made of a wild plant resembling the maguey and called timbiriče.

[273]
[272]

After dancing a while following the dinner, the bride is taken to the house of the godparents of the groom, in case she has been stolen, or to her own parents' house, if she has been asked for. The bride spends the night at this house without her husband. Some time during the day the sisters of the groom wash the bride and dress her.

The following day the godparents of the wedding hold a fiesta in their house similar to that on the preceding day but with some additional features. Early in the morning, when the invited guests arrive, they are served breakfast of bread and chocolate made with water. Then there is dancing. At midday a dinner is served, consisting of many of the typical Tarascan foods such as čurípo (beef broth with cabbage, chile, and meat), kurúndas (yellow tamales), chayote, and cooked squash (*chilacayote*).

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, while the dancing goes on in the house of the godparents of the wedding, the godparents of baptism of

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

Most adults possess a fairly common set of
517 likes and dislikes, some of which have been
523 developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

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517 drinking *charanda*, but only men get drunk out-
[273] side the fiestas and weddings.

Music is liked by both sexes. All ages will
517 gather to hear a phonograph, regardless of
533 what it plays. Boys gather to play the harmonica and sing, often dancing the *jarabe tapatío*. Older men often play instruments and will gather together in their spare time simply to play for the fun of it. Women never play instruments, although they may sing.

517 Fireworks, magicians, and ventriloquists will always draw crowds at fiestas. Several years before the study some of the "progressive" families had social dances in their houses, with ballroom dancing. The leaders were a group of sisters who had lived outside the town. They later married and left the town, and the practice ceased.

[571] Women visit and talk together a good deal. Much of the embroidery and crocheting done is for amusement as well as for sale.

517 Some men like gambling for small sums.
525 Gambling devices at fiestas are always well patronized. A few years ago card games, especially poker, were introduced by men who had been in the United States. Games are played at the billiard parlors, mostly by younger
517 men. The billiard games are also patronized primarily by the young men. Perhaps 4 or 5
[276] men in town smoke marihuana, growing it in their lots. Cigarettes are the common smoke of the majority; most adult males, and many adult women, smoke. Cheap "tailor-made" cigarettes are smoked, usually a brand known as Tigres.

291 Tastes are fixed even in some matters of dress. Men in Cherán all wear dark serapes and blue sashes. The bright rose and blue serapes of Capacuaro are never seen, nor are the red or white sashes of other towns. Some say the dark colors are faster, others say the bright colors are only for boys, and a few say that the dark colors were more "civilized." As Miguel O. de Mendizabal pointed out in conversation, the first mark of urban influence in Mexico is usually the disappearance of the brighter serapes.

Women have similar habits, although perhaps they are more traditional. Of the several belts worn by women in the traditional costume,

342 owner, the master builder, and his helpers, and the nearer relatives of the house owner are now decorated with festoons of pieces of bread, some in the shape of animals, toasted wheat tortillas, and flowers. These are brought in a procession from the house of a relative. Women carry baskets on their heads and dance in the streets. The musicians accompany the party. The various articles are tied to the women's belts and then are hung about the necks of the men. These strings are called "*cuelgas*" (pl. 8, right). As a special guest, Beals was decorated with the others, and care was taken to explain to him that it was customary to return the belts. The master builder and, particularly, the house owner received several festoons of this kind.

Following this ceremony there was dancing, which lasted until late at night. In the particular [273] ceremony described, the householder drank very little. The next day several of the relatives returned with liquor and insisted that he get drunk with them as he had not drunk the day before.

The other major occasion on which ceremonies 483 occur in connection with houses is when a house is 342 moved from one location to another. A man 476 wishing to move a house to a new location hires a master builder to supervise the work. He also invites all his relatives, who are obligated to come. The women aid in preparing food, while the men take apart the house, carry it to the new location, and erect it again. The house owner takes no part in this work; in fact, he is apt to become drunk and be something of a nuisance. The relatives are fed at midday and again in the evening, but they do not ordinarily drink much until evening. Even then most of them are apt to go home before eating or immediately after eating. Ordinarily, a house will be moved completely in 1 day; sometimes, however, part of the roof will be unfinished, in which case a few men will return the next day to complete the work.

A special feature observed at a house moving, but nowhere else, was the serving of tobacco from the lowlands and corn husks for rolling cigarettes. At all other ceremonies the host frequently passed around cirgarettes, but they were of the usual commercial type.

342 The house is the center of numerous other festivities and ceremonials, but they do not pertain to the house directly. The major occasions are

252 *Squash foods.*—Both common-squash and chilacayote are cut into pieces and boiled with the rind. Squash is often candied with piloncillo in mestizo towns nearby, but rarely in Indian communities. Squash blossoms (kukúmu, purú-ɬaɬáki) are boiled and eaten with salt and chile, and immature fruits are often stewed. Chilacayote, which has a watery, stringy flesh, is especially liked throughout the Tarascan area, and in the Sierra during the spring (when other vegetables are unavailable) it is eaten with an atole flavored with the nuríteni herb. In many pueblos the flesh is soaked in
● [273] water and permitted to ferment, forming a refreshing drink called *tepache.*[71] Finally, an atápakua, or stew of chilacayote, is often made by the Sierra Tarascans; the flesh is boiled with onion, silantro, and chile.

243 **Other native crops.**—Apart from the maize-bean-squash complex, a few other indigenous cultigens are found in modern Tarascan field agriculture. From the point of view of culture history, one of the most significant of these is amaranth (*Amaranthus cruentus*), which in most parts of Mexico is called *alegría* or *bledo* and in Tarascan, paii. The tiny (1 mm. diameter), round seeds, which occur in spikes at the head of the plant (1½–2½ meters tall), are rich in starch and oil. Sauer (1936) has suggested amaranth as one of the pre-maize cultigens of southern North America. Today it is cultivated in small amounts in many parts of central Mexico, usually in isolated Indian pueblos.

Among the modern Tarascans, especially those of the Sierra, three varieties of amaranth are grown: white, red, and black. Cultivation is usually limited to *t'upúri* soils of the highlands and to the house-lot gardens. It is planted both in plowland and in *desmontes*, but only in small patches within or at the edge of maize fields.[72] In the plowland the small grain is planted in *quemazones*. The log (usually oak) is burned in January and the seed planted in late May, immediately before the rains. The seed is also sown in freshly burned *desmontes*, but in the house lots ash fertilizer is rarely used. All three varieties

[71] Tepache is a general name for a number of drinks common to western Mexico, e. g. *tepache de piña, de silacayote*, etc. To make *tepache de silacayote*, the flesh of the squash is placed in an *olla;* water, piloncillo, and often soda water (*carbonato*) are added. Fermentation sets in immediately, and after 3 days the beverage is ready for consumption. After the first *olla of tepache* is consumed, more water, etc. is added to the flesh and the process repeated. The meat of one chilacayote is said to last 1 year of repeated fermentation.

[72] Fields of *alegría*, similar to those around Tulyehualco at the southern edge of the Valley of Mexico, are never seen in the present Tarascan area.

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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well have been true—for after two days of dancing the little girls were, in some cases, the only ones who remained sober. The reason for this is that following each performance of the dance in a private home the family honored by the performance is expected to offer refreshments, usually alcoholic in nature, for the musicians and the women who accompany the dancers.

Before the fiesta began, one villager said, "We like this Huanancha music because it is very slow and quiet and because it is our music and we know it." He also commented with evident approval on the fact that the dance is very, very slow. After the girls had performed and the holiday was over the same man said that he didn't like the music of the Huananchas now as much as he used to because they dance too fast and to music which is that used for the dance of the Moors.[6] He went on to say that the music of today is not as it used to be, because the music for the Huanancha and the Moor dances is not supposed to be the same, but now it is. It may be mentioned that this comment came from the clarinet player, the sometimes conductor of the Paracho orchestra, who took pride in the local music. On another occasion another member of the community said that the townspeople always used to have music for the funeral processions, but that this custom had been abandoned in recent times because the music was too slow and sad and made all of the people feel bad.

While on the subject of Tarascan music it is interesting to note that Carl Lumholtz who visited Paracho and other Tarascan communities in 1895, said about the Tarascan music that its "dominant character . . . is sad and plaintive. To a scherzo or a rondo these people would remain absolutely indifferent."[7]

Not all of the people questioned about the music and the dance shared the clarinet player's view either on the music, which he disliked, or on the dance, which he liked. Some of the townspeople made no effort to get to see any of the performances at all and had no desire to see them. One woman, who had spent several years in the United States, said that she didn't like the dance but that it was customary to have it. She didn't mind if others wanted to see it, but she herself didn't wish to bother. Another individual complained that he did not like the dance because it was too slow. Even the musician reluctantly admitted that "they don't do these dances here any more." He added, "Only one old lady in town knows the dances of the Huananchichas and if they are going to dance them then she teaches them, but if not, she doesn't want to bother. She says, 'there is no use'."

There are communities other than Paracho which have Huananchas and Huanancha dances. Migrants to Paracho from Charapan said that a similar dance was formerly, and perhaps still is, performed in that pueblo; some said it is called by another name there. The Huanancha dance was performed by residents in Cheranastico, a pueblo about five miles from Paracho, one week after the Corpus Christi fiesta in Paracho. Beals reports the presence of

[6] Seen by the author at the nearby pueblo of Nauhautzen on August 25, 1948, and described by Ralph Beals, *Cheran: A Sierra Tarascan Village*. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Publication Number 2, Washington, D. C., 1946, p. 144.

[7] Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1905), II, 388.